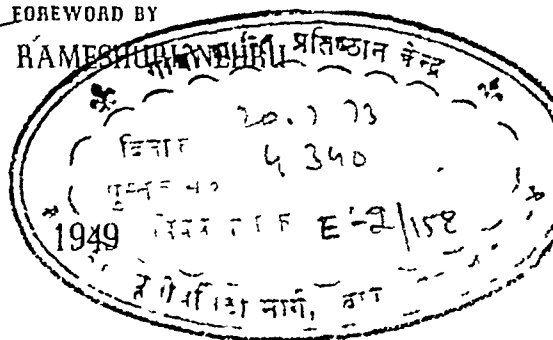


IN GANDHI'S FOOT STEPS SERIES 2

GANDHISM WILL SURVIVE

Y G KRISHNAMURTI

FOREWORD BY
SRIMATI RAMESHWARI NEHRU



PUSTAK BHANDAR

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20/1/21

F O R E W O R D

KRISHNAMURTI is a firm believer in Gandhiji's non-violence. He has been thinking for a long time to start a Gandhi Institute to propagate Gandhiji's ideology.

I have been one of those whom he has been consulting in regard to this proposal. I do not believe in propaganda as the word is generally understood and hold the view that the most effective method for the furtherance of a cause is the living example provided by the purity and usefulness of the life of the devotees. Those of us, therefore, who want the Gandhian ideology to live and flourish must try to purify our lives and gain for our cause the favour of men by giving them love and selfless service.

Nevertheless, I feel there is scope for the type of Institute that he has in mind. We are yet too near Gandhiji to realise the great power which he brought with him and bequeathed to us. We are witnesses to its dynamic power exhibited in winning independence for us with the weapons of 'Ahimsa' without shedding a drop of blood. But the extension of the vital principle of 'Ahimsa' to

the solution of the affairs of the world in general could not be taken in hand in his lifetime. He was waiting to see it fully established in his own country before it could be taken up outside. Had he lived up to the age of 125 years, as he used to say that he wanted to do, he would have had time to canalise world forces for world peace, but that was not destined to be. He was snatched away from us very soon after the attainment of his immediate objective—the freedom of India. Unfortunately the last two years of his life were occupied in allaying the forces of evil which had their full sway in our country in a manner unprecedented in history. This unexpected phenomenon in a country which took pride in the legacy of the great principles of peace and good-will inherited from time immemorial from great sages hurt him and his zest for living ceased to exist. He has gone but his mission is still with us, and it is for us to push it in such a way as to turn it into a world force.

It is the duty of those of us who had the privilege of close association with him and who knew him in the radiance of his life to gather together all that he left scattered in such a way as to collect it for the guidance of the generations to come and for the world outside. If this work of organisation is not taken up immediately, it will not be done at all, as the number of his close associates is dwindling fast. In a few years they will have passed away and no one will then be left to do this important work.

The Sarvodaya Samaj is already there Krishnamurti's proposed Institute can serve as a wing of the Sarvodaya Samaj Through this Institute it is proposed particularly to approach the intellectuals and the leaders and through them to affect every aspect of national life with the colour of Gandhian thought The Institute is expected to produce new literature, drama, music, paintings, dance and poetry saturated with the Gandhian ideology It is proposed to start a college for the study of Gandhian thought and literature and to have chairs for the teaching of Gandhian thought in the Universities

Gandhiji dreamt of creating a new world of love and peace, friendship and co-operation He wanted to destroy forces of exploitation and his method of doing so was through moral forces and reformation of the individual All his constructive work was directed to that end Khadi and Charkha, Gram Udhog and Harijan Sewa, all led to the same goal

His last great conception of Nai Talim was a master stroke for the attainment of the same goal of revolutionising society He brought forward a scheme in which no distinction was made between the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural population The children in early life had to be taken in hand and educated alike in the same way They were all taught to respect and love manual labour This education was meant to prepare the new generation for the Ahimsic Samaj of his dreams The work of Nai Talim is still in its

inception The proposed Institute can produce the required literature for children for its advancement

All the constructive workers know that just at present the country has gone down to a low level of morality Evils against which Ghandiji waged a war all his life are rampant, perhaps, in a greater measure than ever before Personal ambitions, nepotism, corruption, bribery, black-marketing, pugree, etc , are to-day current coins

A dynamic effort ought to be made to check this, and if the proposed Institute is taken in competent and influential hands, I do not see any reason why it should not succeed After all communism and fascism and nazism could be made live world forces in the course of one generation, there is no reason why if the same methods of organisation are adopted by us to canalise those forces of good which are latent in Gandhian philosophy, we do not succeed We have the advantage that the principles and the ideology which we want to propagate are inherently good leading to Sarvodaya or the good of the whole people We do not want to adopt means inconsistent with our ideology Physical force may not be used, but co-ordination and organisation, consistent with our aims and objects is necessary and essential The Sarvodaya Exhibition in Jaipur and the Gandhi Mandap Exhibition at Raj Ghat have shown what can be acheived through art, literature, picture, drama and music

I appeal to the leaders of the Sarvodaya Samaj to study the possibilities of the proposal made by

Krishnamurti and to sponsor it in the right way
Success depends very much on the people who
take it up This also will provide the best way for
the utilization of a part of the Gandhi Memorial
Fund

I hope that the right people will take up the
cause of the proposed Institute

26-4-1949

New Delhi

Rameshwar Nehru

Gandhism Will Survive

INDIA has risen to freedom with Gandhism. The makers of ruin and slavery write their distaste of its confident nationalism in flames and bullets. But the total process is dictated by a revolutionary impulse. The Mahatma opens many a young eye to the beauty of absolute truths. He tells us that the pattern of history is concealed neither in the methods of production nor in the atomic formula but in spiritual patriotism. His ethic heralds a richly coloured age of passion, climax, wayward idealism, mendacity and razor slashing.

Gandhi has the clearest sense of his tragic destiny and his assassin does all the devil's work. Millions sit weeping by the waters of the Jumna while leaping flames devour the stoic frame of the Revolutionary Father. He tries to adapt the environment to his ethic. How can 'all the geese turn into swans in a single life time'? As there are no veils between him and reality, he exhorts his age to preserve the law of humanity.

In the setting of the Gandhian India one sees full-blooded, restless and heroic types turning their longing eyes on this eternal substance, the treasure trove. Their judgements are no makeshifts and no bitter irony can disturb their moral mood. However, the many period events stay in their mind and their understanding is beclouded by a film of sadness. Without the potent magician they see in the corridors weird shapes, seductions and hints of dark forces. Their pilgrimage to the alluring heights is not brief. They must cut new paths in the rock and walk over pendant cliffs.

Edicts of the Sword

These menaced years are, indeed, a time for epic, a moment to touch the stars. There is a threat to decencies and heritage. The esthetic fact of the soil of India, the face of our dear land is airily dismissed as academic. The result is vast tracts are delivered to the edicts of the sword. It is difficult to record in cold blood the filth and abomination of communal propaganda and the destruction of the springs of truth and hope. Our afflicted epoch bears a rich harvest of rapine and shame and a life of imagination and gifts of the spirit are condemned to the dark. Full-blown savagery sows the bones of millions into the soil and the hideous logic of

partition is distilled into the fate of the Punjab, East Bengal and Sind

Our abiding joy in the concept of identity, the timeless appeal of our geo political destiny, the splendour and mystery of our centuried tradition, the winning radiance of our legends, heroes and exploits and the bloom and sweetness of our fields are turned into material and spiritual chaos. The earth, our mother, who spans promise in a rainbow, reveals the glow of sanity in the natural intimacies of the seasons and holds the secret of existence in the dew in the buttercup laughs at our readymade doctrines and dopes. The tragic fact remains that there is a visible march of disintegrating events and a left handed tribute to those who pipe wild fancies on a communal reed. The masses become incapable of larger integral movements because their leaders abandon the trials and hopes of geo politics. An idealism that once rules the hour and the heart, sensitive, articulate and impetuous, turns away from power distracted people. They feast on hollow thoughts and the appeal of the unknown.

Re emergence of the Savage ?

Will a fundamental love triumph over transient hates, ego mania and mass murder ? Can the blood thirsty man forget the distinctions of social ethos

and religious guises ? What answer is there to these questions when we have lost the only mystic who knew the secret of love To millions the prayer addresses of Gandhi are not tinselly moral stuff but breathe a ring of innocent assurance, a telling emotional sincerity We cannot look even a single day ahead without cherishing his thoughts and trying to live by them

In a broad sense, a perfect delight in Gandhism means a continuous vision of freedom The very concept kindles hopes, revives scenes and animates everything It suggests a fragment of Vedic melody, the pink blossoms in the expanding Himalayan forests, the sharp images in a polished mirror It is a mysticism without a brooding mind, an utopia with an enticing beckoning By bringing man nearer to nature and by resisting attempts to reduce him to a cog wheel, it has given us a new scheme of life which assures the movement and sparkle of the spirit

Gandhism is a historical movement from things to spirit, from externality to inwardness In the realms of thought and action it stamps all processes with the mark of wider duties to created life In its philosophical level it visualises world and life as a self realisation of the spirit It forges a link between intuition and experiment and holds that

philosophy should enable man to attain the truth of an integral life. In its view all deep changes are willed by the conscious self. Therefore creeds and symbols which deny the inward testimony distort the basic stuff of life. The central point of its philosophical endeavour is that the power of the soul can open up illimitable new horizons. When man lifts himself above the purely animal and the mechanical he passes beyond the bounds of nature and history. He becomes a work of truth.

A synthetic conception of life, a rich glimpse of the soul, the ironing out of disharmonies, a challenge to the forces of determinism and the acknowledgment of freedom as the root of morality are the root thoughts of Gandhism. Finally, it sounds the clarion that only the ethical element can remould the world as it can see the inner reality of forces.

The fundamental question is, can Gandhism become the panorama of man's setting? In our own land it is the background of our thought, freedom and daily strivings. However, the moral temper of Gandhi is beyond the taste of a segment of our people. The Kashmir and Hyderabad incidents make them believe that Gandhism is self-deception. While they admire the disciplined moral energy, the fervency and boldness of its appeal, yet

they refuse to drive themselves from torture to self-discovery

They argue that India can never feel herself secure until she prevents the re-emergence of the savage Gangsters who reduce to dust and ashes the arts of civilization, who rape and loot with subrational frenzy and who thrive on historical falsehoods and perfidy cannot recognise the gospel of love as the final ideal of mankind. The result will be little short of terrific if we allow a determined minority to carry out the criminal behests of foreign plotters. This does not mean that we should turn our back on mercy, ethical universalism and the enlarged meanings of truth. The stubborn fact is that the unfaithful hand distrusts the moral idiom, scorns beauty of thought and waits for the day after doomsday

Moral Realism

This is a familiar echo from those who have escaped from butchery and blind passion. It would be foolish to ignore thousands of nameless brave who die clinging to love so that the human destiny might triumph. They do not waver in their faith that monkeydom cannot always enlarge its sphere. They know that historical epochs have their dupes and villains, twists and turns of events. Being the

children of a resurgent India, they receive the whacks of the cudgel and raise their voice within the brute's camp

What is in the deepest sense real is the historical aspect of those who build the moral tradition only to be devoured by it. They act in order to create and the idea of death and mutilation has a different flavour for them. Gandhi presents us in their fulness and due balance a synthesis of absolute love and force, the martyr to truth and the man of action. He exhorts us to resist vandalism either by suffering love or with the aid of coercive instruments. Set against this majestic background, the concept non violence is freed from superimposed meanings and sophisticated weariness.

What is present as an under current throughout the speculations of Gandhi is the thought that there is no politics outside the pale of love. Moralism is fused with historical action, love and truth are its linked moments. The moral approach transforms the disturbed into serene, the fang of passion into the emblem of pity. Gang rule, crucifixion of man, emptying the monuments of civilization and death trains form the chronicles of history. The quest of a moral idea, the growth of the soul, heroic self-sacrifice and freedom as political religion constitute the true historical moment. Then the cult of brute

force is a perversion of the historical truth. On the world stage the dark forces appear in new dress and claim to be invincible. But the one moral theme which is universal and immortal, which even in its darkest hour generates the life of the future, is the theme which makes the roses and the cross bloom together. This moral ideal lives neither in the fangled theories of psychology nor in the conclave of parties but in the hot blood of the mystic.

Those who think in terms of centuries can realise that the hope of the world is not in Marx plus-murder machine. During the last three decades fanaticisms enthrone themselves in the seat of power. Their isms and doxies destroy the reflective power of man. There is also a severe strain on his flesh and nerve. Naturally his conditioned reflexes cannot visualise a heightened sense of life. Man walks not on the path of democratic peace but evolutionary uncertainty. When the apparatus of state smiles in lofty scorn at prophets of insight and sensitive feelings, man cannot plumb the depths of his own tragic situation. Philosophies which explain his ends and purposes are brushed aside as mere fig leaves of a theory.

Vision of the Mystic

The retrospective minds can see that while the mystic is the creator of the conspectus of history, the politician masters only a particular risk. The vision of the former lucidly traces the inner structure of a process while the cynicism of the latter entombs ideals in a forgiving silence. The politician lives in a wavering world of interests and hopes. The mystic wanders from this shaky ground into the threshold of values. It is not surprising that after the martyrdom of Gandhi the politician funks the revolutionary tendencies released by his ethic. The main weight of evidence points to the failure of the politician to reintegrate life at its deepest level.

It is wrong to frame an indictment against the whole tribe of politicians but the fearful thing is that they are driving the masses into murky bypaths. It can surely be said to day that their drivel, legpull and vapouring sham have poisoned the solid'y fashioned structure of our ideals. They are trying to impose on us a jargon and not a theme, brain sick words and not enticing thoughts. The nation is prepared to bow in worship to them if they can give a new vision of life and show an awareness of the human burden. At a time when the life of other nations is going at a gallop, we are not yet half way through regrets and denials.

It must be remembered that the problems of an emancipated India lie in the spirit and in the moral realm must be found the solution. We can avoid the danger of plunging into cruder times if we organise the mind and relate it to contemporary moral and social needs. The current of to day's thought must be directed into new frame works. It cannot be done with apologetic backslidings but forms a tremendous feat of planning and zest. The passive, unthinking and confidence gasping type can only play a lout to the innocent but it cannot nurse dreams of wider freedoms. It is the work of myriad wills and views fused into a single determination.

The Assassin's Grasp

What uprooting changes our generation has witnessed. In these irritated years we have experienced the fury and alarm of catastrophe. We have escaped from the assassin's grasp and the feet are set firmly towards a brave future. The elusive something in our traditional spirit mocks at the tragic and the sinister.

Our tribulations give an extra kick to the grandiose criminals. While our politicians are eager to explore dilemmas, our enemies plan murder on an epic scale. Soon the image of an unfragmented

India, of floral and traditional uniqueness, wears a battered look. Freedom ceases to be a cognate idea with the integrity of the land. The gangsters blot the sunshine of our heritage and honour. Spirited and intelligent girls are carried off and barbarized in tribal dens. The slaves of gross appetites desecrate homes and slice up the innocent. A pale moral mood hastens the process of decay.

Extremes is the breath of politics. There is a violent swing from fanaticism to cordial feeling, blood dripping history to a community of ideals. The confusion in historical perspective and the dizzy eminence of the robbers of the soul imprison our spirit in a passing darkness. When the ruling class gives good feed, uniform and terror weapons to the forces of the underworld life becomes a huge night mare. There is hate locked in many a normal bosom and time is on the side of the interrupters of history.

After this show of carnage and deluding power there is a tender craving for stable life. This veiling of the crude passions may not be a return to the cult of love or a regeneration of fellowship. There has been an overmuch of thirst for blood and its anti thesis is a swing over to sane wisdom.

Neo Gandhism

The masses cannot find their ideal outside the historical traditions. The martyrdom of Gandhi has given a jolt to their mind and they have begun to rethink their purposes. The crisis makes new outlook, new man. But contemporary speculative thought after widest roaming adopts the same idiom and pattern of Gandhi. The impulse of the Mahatma is not yet spent and the confection of his thought is rich with plums.

It must be admitted that we would be knocking beauty out of this concept if we fail to transvaluate it. For, as a nation evolves in its thought, its key concepts should also give new meanings and aromas. Gandhism can absorb and surpass the sensations of the time. It is realistic, natural, evolving, free from cloudy jargon and shines the better for redefinition. Its pattern is ever on the loom and its texture is rich and stretches itself for greatness. The Indian grace and sense, its soul history and aspiration are symbolised in that evocative word.

Through the mists of the Gandhian dawn have hopped through scores of men of ascetic endeavour. Among them are seen intellectual swordsmen too. To gratify a more psychological age they should daub their faith with a strong colour. Without injuring the delicate temperament and the classic

fulness and purity of the Mahatma, his disciples should continue their quest under a new mental placard neo Gandhism

We can touch the heart of world's mystery when we are moved by the genuine lilt of the Gandhian mood. Then we should shed our caste robes, turn power into service and face the ceaseless challenge of the enslaving lures. Unfortunately, Gandhism has attracted into its orbit many political adventurers who lead a strange double life of ethical emotionalism and parasitic function. It is such types that stand between the soul of a free India and its programme for the future.

Red Finger of Catastrophe

In the present onslaught on civilization the warning symbols of Gandhism must be flashed in countries beyond our frontiers. Men of goodwill must be told that when there is again blackout the light of the mind as well as of the hearth will die out. A plea for Gandhism thus becomes an effort to save the last track of civilization on earth. This faith has the reassuring smile of nature and medicines the vision of a humanity that is trekking into the jungle. A bell tolls in our memory not to forget the spiritual significance of life. We should again hear its sonorous note with a catch at the heart. It

makes warnings over the unguessed red-finger of catastrophe

Man must relearn the lesson that the voice which speaks with imaginative energy cannot be stilled even though the whole earth is ranged against it. It becomes the symbol of undefeat and seeks not a cloistered but a corrosive truth. Sometimes it outtops reason and goes beyond immediate experience. But it maintains the unfailing sway of love.

Neo Gandhism is an integral interpretation of life. It accepts love as the groundwork of all existence. Without the discipline of the heart there can be no subtle transformation of the crude urges into a pure and joyful spirit. It is opposed to all sectional moralities and arrogant creeds which destroy a full and harmonized life. The central doctrine of its thinking is that man should live by quest. Only the pilgrim can become a star. The submergence of man and the world is due to the decay in values and responsibility. Therefore it gives a vital place to criticism, seeks a reanimation of life, obeys the silent laws of inwardness, develops realistic and human attitudes and keeps and extends the Gandhian process.

Neo Gandhism seeks to create a new typology of life which develops the joys of the spirit in education, philosophy, history, government, literature,

arts, science and social and economic life. It is the orchestration of polarities and not beating of the empty barrel. The neo Gandhians will be a crew of unknowns, each vibrating to the idealistic impulse in his own way. Thus they triumph over fear, ugliness, chance and death.

In spite of the psychologist's juvenile charts the behaviour of man is like a stray balloon and remains unpredictable. Neo Gandhism exhorts him to participate in the cosmic dance of love and thus seeks an inward balance and enrichment. It cherishes the dream of a world pattern glowed by actuality, sacrifice and insight and thus terminates the prolonged infancy of the human race. When man's life is divarced from moral affinities, the world design loses its human centre. Neo Gandhism takes an unflinchingly honest picture of the contemporary life and is sensitive to the perversions of the human will. It draws a moral ecstasy from the threat of the tank, robot and the bomb and evokes and feeds the spirit.

When love runs in a triumphant flame it consumes the foulest of tyrannies. This is the heritage of Gandhi and man can forget it at the soul's peril. Thus Gandhism is the sovereign principle of our consciousness. None can trick us out of it. It survives glacial judgments, caddish boasts and the

cynical blasts of time The essential India, of yesterday and today, seeks her true destiny in a delicate union of truth and love This is our one thought, one mystery and one perfect virtue

A Welding Belief

The tragic confusion of today prompts the reflection that man is goaded to come to terms with strident party ideologies Untrammelled party loyalty and the human sheep are familiar enough to us Neo Gandhism acquires fresh ground for creative fulfilment by insisting on one man-utopia and effort Thus it prevents the individual from leaning towards collective idols It foresees the day when man can solve unaided his sinewy problems and resist national treachery and international brigandage

There is another question continually asked about the material foundations of life Neo Gandhism saves the fabric of existence from the distorting mirror of dialectic While it is basically faithful to spiritual discipline it develops an attitude of reverence to materials atoms, It constructs a new life view which recognises the impact of the machine and at the same time enables the technician to see through the mind's eye In truth, mortal men aspire for the material husk of security But they should not insist on it with a grinding monotony



In an age of cross word, box office appeals and gangster novels, can an idealistic movement survive? Moreover, a civilization that is battered to its knees is now showing signs of a fatigue of the spirit. We have a suspicion that decadence is not only in society but in mind also. Neo Gandhism sees in the blood, mental laziness, standardization, loss of inwardness and uncritical solutions an opportunity for the explosions of spiritual energy. Though the stink of the rotting past assails the nostrils, yet it sees the orange blossoms of a welding belief.

Neo Gandhism can become the symbol of a world awakened from decades of stupor. Its sponsors can sound the trumpet of prophecy and check the trek of nations from progress if they see the inner light of truth. Then only they can share the grace and meaning of a non violent and unfettered world. This liberated spirit will bloom in higher arts and institutions of civilization.

The Second Spring

Gandhism will witness a second spring if its deeper teaching is made by a creative mind who is aflame with this faith and moved by the energy of the historical moment. He should try the most vital of human relations, fantasy and desire by the touchstone of the Gandhian verity. This realistic

moralism will locate love not in infinity but in the cross section of human experience. Then the ethical will become the historical will. In such a world truth and love, disillusioned ego and gleam of reality will shade into one another and issue forth in a single minded quest.

The leader of this spiritual revolution must be a beacon to those who have kept their faith in the ever living truths presented by Gandhi. He should appeal to the profound impulse, the inward searching, the esthetic grace and the intense flame that are the qualities of the essential Indian. He should make us chant bravely the Gandhian tenets in our heart so that we might banish the electronic fear. He should declare that there is a world within that cannot be touched. Within its rampart a new humanism can seed and grow.

In a world of indistinct fears and shadows a flash of anger or a dictated mood cannot forge a faith that transcends the visible order. But a truth in action can change the posture of affairs. Then the leader must be a person who has absorbed the spell of the atmosphere of truth force or Satyagraha.

Our instinct and choice tip the balance for Dr. Rajendra Prasad. His unshrinking realism, delicious coolness, complete integrity and coherent intellectual doctrine bring a rare comfort to a torn

and heavy hearted India Being convinced of the spiritual function of politics, he can make us freshly aware of the full picture of human values He has shown the power to adapt and one feels an intimate warmth in his genius He can organise the best elements of the Indian spirit to keep the land unspotted by soul sickening brutalities He alone can catch and refine the Gandhian gold dust of felicity and peace Above all, he is moved by the turmoil of the day and can pluck the flower of faith from the nettle of danger and evasion

The Gandhi Institute

A statement of Ideals

THE curse of our age is an overdose of memorials. Unless we seek a clue to the personality of Mahatma Gandhi, the attempt to preserve his basic thoughts and framework of life will be utterly lost in unfaith and disillusion.

It is vital to remember that Gandhi is still India and there is no future for us apart from the vision and values he has bequeathed. In the years before us we should make a welcome insistence on the life giving elements of his tradition.

The movers in this direction should answer two capital questions. Is the Gandhian concept capable of a dispersed impact? Can it be touched with scientific prongs? We have a hopeful feeling that the Gandhian ideal is global and the Gandhian process is pragmatic. We are also convinced that though the future is heavily mined with perils yet the thought of Gandhi opens up before man the graces of a sane and ordered life.

In the eyes of India Gandhi is above all else a rebel saint whose mystic voice foretells a free and creative universal order. His life, his martyrdom, his message, his world significance will for centuries become the themes of Gandhian scholarship. The illumination of the soul of the nation, the will and character of the broad masses, the upward beat of a culture and the moral restoration of mankind indicate the sweep of his design.

The men and women who figure in the Gandhian Revolution are not winged persons who will not affect a photographic plate but those who love the green earth and are watchful to pursue the moral ends.

Only after his martyrdom yearning eyes are turned to his activist ethic which holds up the chalice of hope to a world crouched on the atomic bomb. Before the smoky curtain descends upon the story of man, before the mechanistic forces deliver their final assault on human dignity and creativeness, the inward dream of Gandhi must be given a universal hue and content.

The very secret of the philosophy of Gandhi is its cosmic essence and pattern. Thus far it is confined to a limited range and a national need. History prompts us the reflection that the complicated burden of creating a federal, personalistic and

nonviolent world order has fallen on the neo Gandhian. A neo Gandhian believes in a just and knowledgeable study of the world forces, a creative synthesis of nature and life and the fusion of tradition with innovation. As the officialdom has forgotten humanities and as a spice of fear, mischief and the sinister determines its utterances, the plain man can no longer be deceived by its new guises and seductive phrases. Therefore, to insist on the necessity of an international movement which makes available the heritage of Gandhi to all men who are threatened with new sorrows and torments is not faddism.

How can we rise to new responsibilities without a set of new ideas? The cackle of a brave free India easily lends itself to ridicule as we cannot envisage an ideal from many angles. Our chief task is to grasp the new situation in all its reedy depths and help the total rebirth of a revolutionary optimism.

The new outlook must be based on an acknowledgment of a synthesis between the driving forces of mass society and the self judgment and inwardness of a lay ethic. It may take the form of irreligion but it will result in a subtler diversion of religion from its narrow and poisonous moulds.

The ruling idea in India to-day is fundamentally Gandhian but there is no corresponding deepening

of moral and social discipline. This chasm between thought and action is edging Gandhism away from the stream of our historical life.

The plea for self dedication to the new community becomes illusory without harmonising ideas with life. The pattern of this new understanding should be sought in the firm and simple truths experienced and taught by Gandhi. If the truths of life are known only in the mind they are lifeless. They must strengthen the conviction in the creative power of the soul. Then only life brims over with the sap of values. Man walks into the hard sunlight of a new decision.

At the root of the present malaise lies the lure of a mechanised destiny. In such a social order human relationships have become external and man is reduced into a bundle of impulses. Only a thin veneer of convention is spread over a dehumanised society. The reverence shown to the old symbols is a pretence. Without a solid ground to build on a sense of alienation and incoherence is growing. There is no wee bit exaggeration when we say that the Gandhian life plan offers the nucleus of a new existence. It has shown to the world that an undirected impulse leads to disaster. It has aimed its main batteries at systems which coerce and stifle the higher intuitions.

The purpose of the Gandhi Institute, apparently, is to bring together energetic minds and social missionaries who recognise the need and possibility of a new pattern of world life grounded on the philosophy and technique of the Mahatma. This involves a fresh evaluation of the Gandhian concept and the restructuring of the institutions of civilization. Clearness, purity and human feeling can give power and spaciousness to this young movement. A small band of determined seekers can become the forerunners of a noble series of works of the spirit. This neo Gandhian upsurge is no flight from the modern masquerade but an effort to enlarge life's experience. It also tempers the metal of man's nature to a life of resistance to dementing evil. It can work well if it seeks well. Then it should spare neither blood nor tears in fighting veiled thoughts, rank suspicion and steely fanaticisms. Neo-Gandhism can become popular across the oceans if the faith of Gandhi attains the opulence, power and reality of nature itself. The corrupt and the complacent cannot greet the dawn of world independence and dignity. The narrowly realistic politician does not fully know himself and, therefore, cannot know the world. It is only those who prefer the tomb of greatness to a slow thinking and febrile attitude that can save mankind from drifting into the pincer arms of a

new tyrant. They should gather as they seek and become more humble as they possess. Then only they can carry their flaming message to the threshold of a Chinese home, the bitter sweet Gobi oasis and the enchanting French studios. Keeping these ends in view, the Gandhi Institute presents this programme

I. The first task of the Gandhi Institute is to publish monographs which give a clear exposition of the ideology and method of Gandhi. They should be free from water-logged phrases and preachings and avoid over intellectualising the material.

The crucial point is whether the Gandhian impulse should find a popular or academic form. A serious academic level implies tinsel, jargon and ancient airs. A popular approach makes a concept an exciting drug, a rattling yarn for semi dozing afternoons. The academician does not demean himself if he prefers natural magic to obscurity. It will be vitalising if he understands this secret. Moreover, the Gandhian concept has a potential relation with the mass mood. In an age when 5000 novels are published a year, the ability to see the living moment and eternise its sensations is the supreme gift. A book must, therefore, be ultra cheap, get circulation and should not lose a certain tone of enchantment and value.

But the real danger to letters comes from intellectual harlotry. In our country the public will readily gorge on any trash that trumpets the resounding name of Gandhi. This well-founded anxiety can be removed by imaginative authors who believe that art cannot emerge from a craze to cater to feeble minds. They should see in the overlappings of myriad waves of thoughts and feelings the single unbroken thread of progress. This calls for intellectual discipline and not Ivory towered romanticism.

2. An agreeable feature of Gandhi's thought is that it relates social research to common human impulse and need. His technique can correct social wrongs, moral sloth and national selfishness if the social scientist gives new patterns of life based on these essences. A net of experimental laboratories, culture studios, baby rooms and welfare centres must be established. A Gandhian sociology and case work must be built up.

The bitter logic of events teaches the lesson that progress towards neo Gandhism will be a snail's crawl without the power of suggestion. We can discover few signs of hope as we have not yet evolved the technique to stir the indolent mass mind to reflection. In the present decade the shadow of Mammon has fallen on the table of the

idealist Almost it may be said that the quest for the extension of the artistic perception is abandoned In every department of taste the idealist talks of the big winner The free spirit of man is buried in the combination of the hoar and the earnest

We must now discover a fresh way of banishing from life the sinister and the perverse and stimulate its elegancies and natural rhythms There must be a return to the interwoven strands of love and truth This issue is rendered complex by the advent of a system of symbols which integrates emotions in a given pattern The result is that man looks at life with a distorted or elevated vision So many indeed of the psychologists play round the concept of symbol with agile wit They must now lavish all their care on moral integration The Gandhian symbols are with us, richer than ever, and they proclaim a definite message to mankind

3 Gandhi wages a battle for the values of life, in which to fight is also to forgive He is no life denier but affirms and illumines it To keep up the need for heroic temper and faith among the masses a new propaganda technique must be forged The evocative power of the slogan, symbol and sound must be fully harnessed A Gandhi radio, orchestra, museum, chains of magazines in world languages, decorative styles, toys, textiles, posters, banners,

dance drama and theatre can deepen the cosmic awareness

The theatre of to day is unenterprising To give the Gandhian values a theatrical substance will be a daring experiment The printed play with its authentic moral accent and preface enshrining salutary truths will have an imaginative quality To show the same rooted integrity and thrill in a play in performance is difficult A play can be written on a thesis without falling short of intense effects It can be a moving interpretation of life

In the Gandhī era music and poetry must grow on a single stem The Mahatma has an unruffled faith in devotional masterpieces and he woos and invokes the absolute truths with the aid of prayer The tragic fact is that this longing for spells of spiritual absorption that makes him tread the path to martyrdom Devotional verses of grace and freshness, which can give the unfocussed impulses a new direction and which achieve a harmony of words and melody, can cure the spiritual depression They must inspire men to seal their faith in truth with their blood Then the Gandhī orchestra must open up new harmonic resources and take verses of moral eloquence for musical setting

The Indian genius is integral, human, delights in meaningful symbolism and rhythmic sense It also

combines in one composite mass the slices of life. The Gandhi orchestra should not aim at mere cloying sweetness but attain volume, blend and movement.

The Gandhi museum should nurse an ardent religious feeling. Each piece must be touched with the Gandhian spirit and transcend the flesh. The expressive line, scenographical effect and the decorative feature of the statues, baroques and paintings must suggest the finest aspects of Gandhi's thought. The play of light must reveal the supreme ecstasy of life, its riddle and flux.

The dance drama expresses the culture pattern of a people. The new stirring of forces demands from every artist an ability to transmute his material into another shape. It is a pity that our dance drama has not kept pace with the swift movement of events. The reason is our artists have no robust faith in creative freedom in ideas and styles. This is no pawky stricture but a summons to esthetic victory. Only a free individual art can make every step and every gesture give an air of spontaneity and imaginative force. The artists will be loud in protest when we suggest that the stylised combat should give place to the narrative sung drama. The dancer should not live in a hole and corner privacy and his symbols should contain an intelligible

esthetic meaning. The nearer he comes to this conclusion the more massive and direct will be the appeal of his art. We need more communal or folk-dances to fortify the inner castle of unity. The variety of dances and drama presenting the favourite themes of Gandhi will indicate the sweep and majesty of the moral impulse. It will be a flaming fusion of the poetical, musical and visual excellences.

4. The neo Gandhian should dart out of the ranks of the new leader. To educate the youth in the vastness of the modern issues in the light of the Gandhian scale of values colleges of Gandhism, leadership and humanities must be started.

5. The ethicist a shade overdraws the picture of a mechanised and doomed world. But he gives a final hint of the moral ordering of the universe. While Gandhi is moved by an eloquent tragic sense, his utterances have a grace, an optimism, a luminous power, a leaping vitality. To enable millions of the devoted and the brave to pass through the unity of moral discipline, a convention of scholars, research foundations and chairs in Gandhian philosophy are the necessary instruments.

A convention of Gandhians is neither a pose nor a task. It will not be marked by shrill vehemence and sanguine delusion. It will help to line men up to salute a new ethical destiny. It will correct

maladjustments and affirm truths. Thus the renewed values will be made available all round. The two truths that emerge from the travail of Gandhi's life are man can achieve perfection in a world of time, creative selfhood is the road to freedom and eternity. This is the moral anchorage, the banner of history.

A tone of anguish flits across the pages of Gandhi. There are also pieces that are roses mixed with lavender. The passages dictated by a deeper intuition are flawless jewels. His spontaneous humour and mystic gaze are not amenable to intellectual analysis. His realism on the ethical plane stands fearlessly for the whole truth. It envisages life as a spiritual process which owes its substance and illumination to a warm sense of love. Gandhism at such a pitch requires a world platform and forms the essential part of a world revolution, its salt, its leaven.

6 Few months before his martyrdom the shadow of broken ambition falls on Gandhi. He feels that his followers have belied or fallen away from the ideal of silent constructive work. The Institute declares that the highest truths revealed by Gandhi will slip into the background if a new social order is not built from bottom upwards. Curing of social defects, sanitation, basic wage, self sufficiency,

cultural and moral instruction, co-operative attitudes and harmonic living are the hope of progress Studios of mass contact and mass culture should become the vital cells of the new agrarian movement Unregenerate villages will reflect the naivety and weakness of our drive for fundamental change

7 Gandhism is an equalitarian process It breaks the slavery of caste and reveals to us the secret of life which we had lost The Institute should make the ideal of equality a personal experience and it should infect the national bloodstream itself

8 It is a peculiar imbecility of human nature that in the name of social standards we quench the spirit On this score sterile tears have been shed in secret and a dark torment has oppressed many minds Gandhism disturbs the roots of convention and has enabled millions of women to toss defiance in a husky voice The magic of its faith is beyond recapture and women are freed from helpless fear and rankling injuries It idealises not only the tender impulsive heart of a woman but asserts that moral liberty and self-confidence should beam out of her

The Gandhī Institute declares that in the race for patterning free life women have won the toss and they should preserve the seized initiative

The cadence of Gandhi like his personality
perpetually deludes us by its stature However, it
promises an abundant sunshine of life The Gandhi
Institute will hand on the torch of this faith to an
unbroken line of seekers

A Blue-Print

THE Gandhi Institute seeks to study, extend and fulfil the moral philosophy and the institutions of civilization evolved by Mahatma Gandhi

College of Gandhism

OBJECTS To develop imaginative devotion for the central teaching of Gandhi to create the favouring environment for the unfolding of life in love and truth to train a band of seekers who can grasp the proper functions of the spirit and reform the actual

One year post graduate course Degree

Bachelor of Gandhism graduates to teach the Gandhian life view in seminars and culture studios

Teaching Staff

10	Professors	1,50,000
20	Honorary Professors	50,000
5	Lecturers	30,000
	Clerical Staff	15,000
		<u>2,45,000</u>

Tuition fee Rs 30 a month 1500 students

Rs 45,000 × 8 months 360,000

Permanent Assets

Building	10,00,000	
Hostel	5,00,000	
Library	6,00,000	
	<u>Rs 20,00,000</u>	20,00,000

(Yields a profit of more than 1,15,000 of rupees
a year from the start)

NOTE —In five years about 5,00,00,000 persons will be
indoctrinated by its 5000 graduates

College of Leadership

OBJECTS To foster in the youth a rational discipline
that adjusts its dreams to a given social setting to realise
the idealities possible to various impulses and goals to train
the new legislator, diplomat, cultural missionary, trade
commissioner, social and economic planner to create the
neo Gandhian or the cosmic man

Two years post graduate course Degree Graduate of
Leadership

Teaching Staff

10 Professors	1,50,000
20 Honorary Professors	50,000
5 Lecturers	30,000
Clerical Staff	<u>30,000</u>
	Rs <u>2,60,000</u>

Tuition fee Rs 20 a month

160 x 2000 students Rs 3,20,000

Permanent Assets

Building	15,00,000
Hostel	8,00,000
Stadium	5,00,000
Library	5,00,000
	<u>Rs 33,00,000</u>

(Yields annual income of Rs 60,000)

Being the only institution in Asia students from South East Asia must be encouraged to join it

College of Social Service

OBJECTS To gain a better insight and control over the social trends and settings to estimate the values and status of institutions, to rationalise human impulses, to study medical psychiatry organisation of social services, social planning and case work

3 years course after Intermediate

Tuition fee Rs 15 No fee for girl students

500 boys and 200 girls income

120×500 Rs 60,000

Teaching Staff

8 Professors	Rs 60,000
4 Lecturers and demonstrators	Rs 25,000
Clerical Staff	Rs 20,000
	<u>Rs 105,000</u>

Permanent Assets

Building	Rs 8,00,000
Library & Laboratories	Rs 5,00,000
Model Centres	Rs 1,00,000
Hostels	Rs 5,00,000
	<u>Rs 19,00,000</u>

(State aid Rs 1 Lakh a year necessary)

Psychiatric Laboratory and Library on Social Sciences

OBJECTS To enable each impulse to contribute its own perfection to the total web of harmonies

Laboratory, experimental centres and consulting room

4 Psychiatrists	Rs 50,000
2 Demonstrators	5,000
1 Librarian	6,000
Clerical Staff	10,000
	<u>Rs 71,000</u>

Building, Laboratory & Library Rs 10,00,000 (State aid Rs 71,000 a year necessary)

Gandhi Peace Radio

OBJECTS To bring to a moral focus the blind and anti humanistic forces in the world, to generate a moral hysteria and thereby resist war mongery

A net of correspondents throughout the world to broadcast recorded messages of leading thinkers songs, playlets symposium review of world events from the pacifist angle, a symbolic rendering of Gandhi's philosophy and technique, love blitz

Broadcasting, station director, announcers, editors, artists,
orchestra, correspondents etc 10,00,000

(Yearly grant of Rs 2,00,000 necessary)

Gandhi Orchestra

Nearly 75 background instruments setting devotional
and patriotic pieces to music band stand Friday evenings
solemn music tours to make the orchestra self sufficient
Rs 2,00,000

Gandhi Museum

Paintings, panels, wall painting, wood carvings, statues,
busts, souvenirs, scenes from Gandhian revolution, scenes
representing moral idealism, miniature drawings, political
documents, letters, photographs, Gandhi's personal belongings,
a day in ashram sketches and pictorial studies, manuscripts,
first editions of his works

Building should represent a new style in architecture
Rs 50,00,000

(Yearly grant of 1,00,000 for its maintenance
and further collections)

Gandhi Ballet

The new moral and social attitudes created by Gandhi to be
presented in the form of dance drama

Costume, cast, portable theatre

(Tours make it self sufficient)

Rs 2,00,000

Socio Cultural Institutions

Women s Branch

Institutes of domestic science, humanities, music and nursing, handicrafts, personality development Research on feminist problems, culture studios, welfare centres, magazines, athletics, theatres, lectures on mothercraft etc Rs 10,00,000

Students Branch

Students union, studios of mass culture and mass contact, forums, youth rallies, debating teams mock parliament, summer camps, welfare colonies Rs 1,000,000

Children s Branch

Baby rooms, gift books, toys open air schools and camp etc Rs 2,00,000

Publishing House

An off set press specialising in colour work Rs 7,00,000

(Paintings, posters, crests etc)

2 Lino machines, 1 mono, 1 flat and 3 treadle machines, stitching, binding etc Rs 4,00,000

Magazine in English and Hindi

The Gandhian Rs 2,00,000

Books (investment) paper, print etc Rs 2 00,000

Yields annual profit of Rs 7,00,000

Research

10 scholars to prepare authentic works on Gandhi's life and times and the bearing of his philosophy on the nature and destiny of man, collection of Gandhi's works and the literature that has grown round him Research Library

Rs 20,00,000

(Research scholar to be employed for a term of three years)

Gandhian Convention

To be held in different countries of the world central institute to subsidise

Fare, literature, publicity, decorations etc Rs 5 00,000

Lecture Tours

To spread the Gandhian life view the leading thinkers and statesmen to be sent abroad Rs 2,00 000

Chairs of Gandhian Philosophy

Chairs of the Gandhian philosophy to be instituted in the Universities of Vienna, Paris, Oxford, Harvard, Peiping and Tokeo (for three years) Rs 6,00,000

Symbolic Art and Propaganda

Banners posters, textiles, interior decorations etc

Rs 2,00,000

Constructivism

Moral front—education of emotions, social front—curing of social defects Economic front—belt of cottage industries cheap power bounties, free technical aid etc Rs 3,00,00,000

Institutes Abroad

10 Institutes to be started

- 1 Affinities with other positive spiritualistic movements
- 2 Special features and write ups in foreign papers
- 3 To persuade artists to write verses, plays and novels based on the central Gandhian truths
- 4 To provide facilities for foreign authors and social leaders to visit India, study the Gandhian philosophy and technique
- 5 To maintain a collection of Gandhian works and books on his thought and personality
- 6 To organise India in pictures exhibitions 20,00,000

Head Quarters

An imposing building in Delhi	Rs 20,00,000
Staff quarters and guest house	Rs 5 00,000
Lecture Hall and Theatre	Rs 10,00,000
	<u>Rs 5,61,71,000</u>

The Gandhi Institute

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(to be elected by the convention of Gandhians)

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